

THE BEE

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FOR
PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES
SENATOR JOSEPH BENSON
FORAKER OF OHIO
FOR
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES
TIMOTHY L. WOODRUFF,
OF NEW YORK

BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

This is one of the most sensible associations in the city. At a meeting held last Tuesday evening a most sensible proposition was suggested, which, if it is adopted, will benefit the people in this city. The people want suffrage, and the reason they don't get it is on account of the great colored vote in this city.

The Bee has this to say: If proper men are nominated for office, no matter what their politics may be, the colored voters will support them. If such Democrats as Hon. Henry L. West, James L. Morris, W. V. Cox, Henry E. Davis, Captain J. F. Oyster, W. L. Lambert are placed in the field the colored voters would support them as soon as they would the best Republican that could be found. What the colored voters of the country want is men who represent principles, no matter what their politics may be.

If suffrage is restored in this city The Bee would support Commissioner West against any white Republican, with but exception, that may be nominated. Mr. West is fair and just. There are hundreds of Democrats that the colored people would support. The Business Men need not have any fear of asking Congress to restore the right of franchise. The colored voters have learned some sense, and they don't believe in electing lily-white Republicans to office. They intend to vote for men, and not party. Let the good work go on.

TAFT VS. FORAKER.

The Secretary of War, Mr. Taft, who is the candidate of the Administration, has given the Republican voters of Ohio to understand that he is in the fight to capture the delegation from Ohio to the next National Republican Convention. Mr. Taft may succeed in securing the nomination, but he will never be elected. The American people, the colored people especially, are determined that neither Mr. Taft nor President Roosevelt can be elected President of the United States, if either should be nominated. There are but few colored men favorable to the Administration, and they are the officeholders. If the Republican party expects to win in 1908 it had better nominate a man who is acceptable to the colored voters. The colored American has come to one conclusion: He is either going to be recognized as a citizen of the United States or a political nonentity.

JUDGE DE LACY.

The Bee sees no fault in Judge De Lacy, of the Juvenile Court. The Bee finds in him qualities that every

good citizen should commend. He is one man upon the bench who sees no difference in defendants who are brought before him. Judge De Lacy is not color prejudiced, and this alone entitles him to the respect, confidence and support of all good citizens.

APPLAUDED FIVE MINUTES

Mr. W. Calvin Chase, in his address before the Second Baptist Church Lyceum, last Sunday afternoon, when he paid a tribute to Senator Foraker, the applause continued for five minutes and the people stood up. The ladies waved their handkerchiefs. It was a beautiful demonstration of loyalty and appreciation. The same sentiment prevails throughout the United States.

THE ADMINISTRATION.

Continued from 1st page.

promises and small crumbs. It is the go-between, so to speak, for men and parties and for Administrations. It's record in Congress has not been satisfactory, its present in the great legislative halls do not record any great events. And neither did it introduce a measure that would tend to free an oppressed people or ameliorate their condition. The display of oratory has been its stock in trade and like peacocks it has walked up and down the Congressional isles to make a display of its gray hair and long whiskers. Point out to me if you please one bill or measure that has passed either branch of Congress that has been a benefit or that has advanced its people. The young colored American of today, with his opportunities, would be a credit in our legislative halls. We are told by the distinguished Secretary of War, Mr. Taft, that we must wait until our rights come to us. In the name of God, when will they come? Haven't they taken wings and flown and hasn't his administration given impetus to that false flight?

What was more hypocritical, deceiving and misleading than his celebrated order of hold up? It was a hold up pure and simple and I so declared in the public press that it was a national bluff. Was it not? What was the result? The weak-kneed preachers, stump orators and quasi politicians and modern statesmen declared that he was a second Lincoln. A distinguished lady, Mrs. Terrell, telegraphed throughout the country that she had the order issued, that the President intended to revoke his order of dismissal and that the brave negro soldiers would not be dismissed.

The Secret of the Order.

The Chief Executive catered to Southern prejudices. He satisfied the thirsty and rebel Southern sentiment. He knew that he could never again be elected by the American people to the position that he has dishonored. But Mr. Taft must issue a hold-up order that of course would ingratiate him in the hearts of the colored Americans, notwithstanding what the Chief Executive would do thereafter. Many saw through it. They see through it better today. It was a game of checkers that the Chief Executive and his Secretary of War were playing. The nation looked on, and today we are wiser men and better citizens. It must be understood now, that the colored Americans have no faith in present conditions. Every act of the present Administration is spectacular, its deeds are unceratin and its motives leave no doubt in the minds of the colored Americans.

The Catholic Church,

to which the colored American seems to be looking today, is controlling Republican presidents. The evidence of one of the recent diplomats shows it. While I have no objections to the Catholic Church, but rather applaud its political manipulations through the Pope of Rome, it is an object lesson to the colored Americans. The Church of Rome within a few years will be the controlling factor in the American body politic. Then will come the fight between Church and State, such as was witnessed in France. It is quite evident that human rights are secondary considerations with the Administration. It is planning and scheming all it can to control the next National Republican Convention for the present Secretary of War, who is not the friend of the colored American. There is no more faith to be put in the Secretary of War than in the Chief Executive of the nation. Who is safe under this administration? At any moment the assassins of this government are liable to destroy your homes, your character and your reputation. It can be readily seen that the administration is in a struggle. It is in the middle of the Rubicon so to speak as Caesar was when he cried, "Help me, Cassius, or I sink."

Ambition will often make you do that which is unjust; ambition has turned the hair of young men gray and brought destruction and devastation to the homes of the loyal and the brave. Not since the organization of our government has the colored American been subjected to so much humiliation and an effort to make him feel that he has no rights which the white man is bound to respect. Will they continue to sit idle

and act like dumb driven cattle with a halter around their necks, or will they from this day throw off the yoke of oppression and declare their American citizenship? I am not painting a dark picture; I don't say that we are helpless, nor would I say that ten millions of colored Americans in the Republic shall continue to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water or the sucklings of administrative influences. The colored American has been told that this is

His Flag.

He knows no other flag, but the American which he has helped to uphold from the days of the Revolution to his going up San Juan Hill, which made America great in the pages of history and posterity immortal. The Chief Executive to whom historians have given credit for taking San Juan Hill, will be a black spot in the future ages of our American history. With shot and shells to the right of them, with shot and shells in front of them, the black soldiers took San Juan Hill and not the misnomer who has dismissed without honor the heroes of the 25th Infantry. In this connection let us turn over a few leaves of history and see if we can find a man who equals that champion of human rights; the man who is against wrong, and the one to whom the colored American shall ever owe a debt of gratitude, for his expose of this executive misnomer who owes his elevation to the miscarriage of justice and the accident of fate. We thank Sumner for his noble defense prior to and subsequent to reconstruction times; we cannot forget Garrison, Lovejoy, Douglass, and many others who believed in and advocated human rights. There is no cause for the colored American to despair. While we must watch the enemies without as well as those within, the greatest enemies of human progress and civil and human rights of the colored American are the apologists in the present Administration, who have not the temerity to protest against the wrongs of the present Administration for fear that the attorney general will file a bill for divorce from bed and board. It is amusing when you think of it. We have a few who are merely drawing their salaries as a matter of form while the white man directs their thought, acts and deeds. Reverting again to our leadership, which has been such an impediment to the race, it is nothing more than fair that we should extend Mr. Gilchrist Steward of New York the thanks of every colored American for the investigation and report of the alleged Brownsville riot, because the final outcome of this will be just as he reported at the beginning: Not guilty. This is the kind of leadership the colored Americans want and with all due respect to the representatives who are holding positions under the present Administration, remain quiet, draw your salaries, and do not attempt to advise an injured and outraged race by apologizing for those who are against us. We know they do not represent the sentiment of the American Negro and if they want to fool the Administration for God's sake do not attempt to misrepresent us. It was but a few days ago when Bishop Grant went to the Executive Mansion and urged the appointment of a minister connected with his denomination for a position as Chaplain in the Army. The haughty Bishop stated to the Chief Executive that he asked for this appointment in the names after millions of colored Americans whom he represented. Now what do you think of this? The president told him that he must first modify the criticisms that his people are making against him and set him right with them, then he would give him the place for his pastor. The distinguished Bishop has a contract equal to that of Giles B. Jackson to unite all of the colored people on the negro Jamestown Exhibition. Just how Bishop Grant should dream such a thing, that he represented ten millions of colored Americans, is one of the mysteries of the dark ages. Seriously speaking, I want to say that demagogues and the apologists are the only individuals who will compromise a race of people. These are the people who are to a great extent responsible for the political condition of the colored people—who are no more than co-conspirators with administrative powers. I now come to the doctrine of surrender and what do we find? At the beginning of the second term of the present Chief Executive the colored American saw painted in an artistic style, the immortal door of hope. O, this door of hope had as much effect upon the minds of the colored Americans as a coquetish maid has upon the heart of a courting dude. Ten millions of colored people, with but a few exceptions, went into a trance over the declaration of the door of hope, and the many declarations of what were to be handed out. But, alas! we see the gnawing wolves in the South, and at times with mouths wide open appealing to the watchman and author of the door of hope, to close the doors and surrender to the South with all of her iniquity, the disciples of the doctrine of the door of hope. It was done and today these reptiles are feeding upon the carcasses of the faithful black allies and the stench from their bodies is only a reminder of a holiday for the wolves. We can only look with horror upon the picture, because we are powerless to remedy the evil nor can we liberate these helpless

blacks who have been so cowardly surrendered by the author of the door of hope policy. The Chief Executive wants to perpetuate this policy by placing in the Executive chair as his successor a man who believes in and will perpetuate his policies. As I said before, we can hope for no aid or advice from those who are controlled by the blandishments of official power. It would be an imposition upon the race for any of these men to declare or to presume that their self-styled leadership shall receive the indorsement of the ten millions of blacks in this republic. I have endeavored to discuss principally the question of human rights and civil liberty, because these two words occupy no place, so far as the colored Americans are concerned, in this Administration.

The colored Americans can not expect any more than what they are now receiving, so long as the policy of the present administration exists. Under this administration justice is partial; human rights and civil liberty sleep; spectacular displays are exhibitions for the ignorant and prejudiced whites; love of justice is hidden, and the subordination of the colored American is its ambition.

Evasion and Nullification Instead of Enforcement of Laws.

And now let me call attention to the "square deal" propaganda as exemplified by the Department of Commerce and Labor the executive department with the enforcement of certain laws, among them the labor, the emigration and the naturalization laws. Many of these laws have been recently changed by Congress after due consideration to meet existing conditions. In this department headed by a New York business man, a Hebrew, a race of once despised people, what do we find, the proper enforcement of the laws?

No, my friends, what we find is adroit attempts to evade and nullify certain laws to either suit the whims and fancies of certain officials or at the behest of certain interested parties.

Now you may think this an extreme statement but here are the facts relative thereto as borne by recent reports in all the papers of the country. Look a minute at the conditions surrounding the so-called enforcement of the emigration laws.

Briefly, the Attorney-General holds that under the amendments to the emigration law made by the last Congress, a State cannot do more than advertise its resources abroad and that other methods heretofore used to secure emigration, as in the case of South Carolina would be illegal; notwithstanding the fact that Secretary Straus of the Department of Commerce and Labor has construed the law not to apply to States in their sovereign capacity.

The Evening Star of March 13, speaking of this subject said among other things: "An important conference on the subject of immigration was held at the White House last night. Every phase of the southern immigration problem was discussed at the meeting, which began after 9 o'clock. The questions raised by several States in the South bearing on the labor problem, the need for the present of bringing certain labor from abroad for work in the mills in those States, the recent decisions of the Attorney General and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor on the subject were taken up and a general understanding was reached as to the application of the present immigration law and the new law that is to take effect on July 1 next, to the situation in the South. Although no statement was given out at the close of the conference, the discussion bore largely along the same general lines as at the other meeting, and there was the same satisfaction expressed as to the outcome."

The outcome was that it as conceded that a way would be found to allow the States to get around the law. The Washington Herald in an editorial on the situation headed "The South Strikes a Snag," fearing the proper enforcement of the law, had this to say in reference to somebody in high authority: "The Southern Senators who opposed the passage of the new immigration act, and who abandoned their filibuster only after they had become satisfied that the new law would be construed in accordance with the decision then recently rendered by Secretary Straus, of the Department of commerce and Labor, appear to have been laboring under a serious misunderstanding. Attorney General Bonaparte has just submitted an opinion to the President to the effect that while the assisted South Carolina immigrants were entitled to admission into the United States, and were in this country legally, the new immigration act makes such immigration unlawful and renders such assisted immigrants liable to exclusion. In short, the plan of the South to induce immigration through organized agencies has been knocked into a cocked hat. The condition feared by Senators Tillman and Bacon has come to pass."

"It is very plainly stated in the Senate that assurances had been given that the Administration would construe the new law in favor of assisted immigration along the lines adopted by South Carolina. Evidently the Attorney General gave no such assurances. Who did? Were the Southern Senators in communication with somebody in authority who gave such assurances? Presumably

they received assurances from an authoritative source, as they are not men who are accustomed to buying pigs in a poke. They were able to hold up the immigration bill indefinitely, and might have conducted a successful filibuster against it. They would hardly have withdrawn their opposition on the strength of a mere rumor. It is possible that interesting disclosures may be made if the two Senators from South Carolina and Georgia actually received authoritative assurances that the immigration plans of their States would be supported in the execution of the new law."

A few days ago two Southern men, a Mr. Haywood and a Mr. Watson, came to Washington to get what they termed a definite interpretation of the law and after a conference with the President these Southern men talked for the press as follows: "We feel that the President is in sympathy with what has been done and is being done in the South. We cannot go further in our plans for foreign emigration until we know where we stand. We told the president that we did not want to nullify or secede, but we simply wanted to know where we stood."

We do not understand what these Southern men meant by nullify or secede. Probably President Roosevelt clearly understood their meaning and its full import.

These Southern gentlemen will themselves neither have to nullify or secede. They have received their instructions from the White House and gone forth rejoicing to proceed with their plans to assist emigration to the South and the daily press of yesterday, March 23, indicated the loop-hole provided by the Administration.

Attorney-General Bonaparte no doubt under instruction from the President, has modified his first construction of the law in a manner to provide this very necessary loop-hole. The press dispatches read as follows:

"President Roosevelt yesterday made public the decision of Attorney General Bonaparte, which was rendered upon request of the Executive, who had received certain questions bearing upon daily, and it is to the credit of the judge the subject of immigration from Gov. Ansel, of South Carolina.

"Briefly, the Attorney-General finds that the State would be violating no law if it advertised its wage scale and inducements to prospective immigrants abroad; provided that no contract, expressed or implied, were made; provided there is no such contract, the State may prepay the passage of an immigrant to its borders, if the immigrant is free to choose his own employment when he arrives; the State may, without liability under the Federal law, accept contributions for the purpose of advertising its advantages abroad, and the immigrants who come in response to these inducements will be allowed to enter, but the parties who make the contributions to the State for the same purpose may subject themselves to prosecution. Under the new law, the Attorney-General holds, the status of both State and immigrant will be different.

When this statute goes into effect on July 1 all immigrants induced to migrate from their homes by reason of inducements, offers, or promises, even when no contract is made, will be excluded. In the next place, the new law will exclude the immigrant whose passage is paid by any corporation, or foreign governments; but, curiously enough, does not prohibit a State from thus prepaying passage money. Neither the old nor the new law, the Attorney-General says, prohibits the importation of skilled laborers when the like cannot be found unemployed in this country."

Now as to the investigation of the Child and Woman Labor conditions in this country as passed by Congress:

"The bill provides that the investigation shall be made by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, which means that the work must be done by Commissioner Neill of the bureau of labor, who was also in consultation with the President.

"One stumbling block to the President in the bill is that the investigation shall be made by employees of the government appointed under civil service laws and regulations.

"Representative Crumpacker, however, expressed the opinion that the President would not doubt be able to circumvent the provisions of the law limiting the investigation to civil service employees. The President usually gets what he wants," said Mr. Crumpacker, "and he will know how to take care of this." It is said to be likely that the President will issue an order for a special examination by the civil service commission for a special register. The examination will be taken by such men as the President may consider fit for the work and under conditions that will insure their getting through safely. After the register is made up the commission the President will have Secretary Straus select the men in the usual way. This will insure the appointment of James B. Reynolds, who made the beef and other investigations for the President, and men of the character of qualification the President regards as suitable.

"Just why this clause was put in the bill is not known, unless it was the intention of Congress to put a stop to the appointment by the President of special agents and commissioners, such as did duty in the beef and other investigations. Congress had gotten heartily tired of so many of these appointments, it was

stated."

This recalls the fact that on February 8, 1907, the Senate, seeking to avoid the appearance of paternalism on the part of the government and the one man power, passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Interstate Commerce Commission are hereby severally directed to report to the Senate at the earliest moment possible the number and names of all persons employed by them or under their authority in their several departments during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906, or who are now so employed as special agents, attorneys, inspectors, employees, or otherwise, where no specific appropriation in detail has been made by Congress for such employment or only made in general terms, and also to report in every case the amount paid, or to be paid, as compensation, and make a specific statement of the nature of the employment in each case, and also whether such persons are in the classified service."

In answer to this the several Secretaries submitted their reports to the Senate and Senate Document No. 345 (a copy of which I hold in my hands) reveals the fact that although hundreds of such employees were sent out under instructions from the White House not a single Negro was selected, and this is a republican form of government."

It should not be necessary to remind any one and especially a great high priest of the "square deal," the head and front of this Administration, of the fact that a republic cannot be successfully maintained based on inequality of citizenship or opportunity and that all attempts to maintain class and caste distinctions have proven the downfall of those who tried to enforce them.

In nearly all of the Executive Departments Negroes of ability, education, and efficiency are employed on work in which their white fellow clerks have signally failed to produce as good results as their Negro compeers and yet these same Negroes are in a number of instances placed under these "failures" in sections that are tabooed as "jimmecrow sections" and this too when the Administration is Republican in name if not in form and loud in its acclaim of the "square deal" and broad "door of opportunity."

Why is it that when the work of certain sections in the departments is only suited to Negro brain, brawn and intellect, that some of the capable, deserving and worthy Negroes who have given evidence of initiative efforts as well as executive ability of high order cannot be placed in charge of these sections and given the full credit of the work turned out under their supervision?

As a rule this has not obtained and the nominal rule has been compelled to make his reports, working diagrams, etc., from the constructive knowledge of some capable Negro who neither draws the pay nor gets the credit.

This condition is not confined alone to the Departmental Service in Washington; while the most recent instance is to be found in the appointment from the Civil Service roster of a Negro draughtsman in the Supervising Architect's office; the white employees of the Railway Mail service petitioning for segregation is also to the point. The prompt refusal, however, of the Post office Department to even consider such an infamous discrimination furnishes a speedy remedy for these far too often repeated and winked-at conditions. The prompt denial seems to furnish at once the panacea for the untoward conditions existing in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, now under the control of the same official who at the head of the Postoffice Department was responsible for the stamping out of the incipient color line in the Railway Mail service; similar conditions existing in the Census office, under the control of a Boston man of culture, whose principal, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, has felt in his own race the sting of oppression and prejudice; and last but not least, the Sixth Auditor's office, which is now also under the control of the former head of the National Republican Committee and who knows no distinction of race, but relies on the meritorious showing of the individual, who like himself overcomes obstacles and mounts to the highest pinnacle.

The Negro in the Departments represents the best of his race in point of culture, intellect and education, while his white competitor is more than often the reverse, thrown into the department by influence. It would seem that under the administration of the greatest exponent of Civil Service reform, Theodore Roosevelt, that the crowning jewel of this commission, merit, should stand the Negro in good stead, and give him his "door of opportunity." As a rule the capability and efficiency and application are the same which open up opportunities for other races and the individual passes through, but to the Negro the more capable, efficient and the more his application the more he becomes a mark of derision and of open antagonism. Why is this and how long will it obtain, Mr. President?

We have come to a crisis where the money power is controlling the destiny

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